Policing the Cultural Kaleidoscope: Recent Canadian Experience

Philip C. Stenning[1]

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

As has been the case in many other "First World" countries, the demographic profile of Canada - especially of its major urban centres - has changed dramatically during the last forty years. Beginning with a huge influx of immigrants from Europe during the 1950's and 1960's, and followed by burgeoning immigration from Far Eastern and Caribbean countries in the 1970's and 1980's, Canada's cities are now probably some of the most multi-ethnic and multicultural in the world. Official responses to these developments have encouraged "multiculturalism", which has been adopted by statute as an official governmental policy and which favours preservation of the unique identities of cultural and ethnic communities rather than the assimilationist, "melting pot" approach adopted in some other countries, while at the same time seeking to avoid ghettoization and racial conflict. Maintaining this approach while still ensuring equality and equal protection under the law, all during periods of significant economic pressures and fiscal restraint, has posed enormous challenges for policing generally and for urban public police services in particular. Despite a great deal of discussion about the need for change, both to the composition and organization of police services and to the ways in which policing is done, progress in successfully effecting such changes has been slow and uneven, and often quite strongly resisted from within police services themselves. In addition to, yet in important ways different from, these challenges, however, has been the challenge of how to provide "culturally appropriate" policing of and for Canada's Aboriginal, "First Nations" peoples, whose special place in Canadian society is constitutionally guaranteed, but whose social and economic circumstances have remained far short of those which the non-Aboriginal majority have come to expect and take for granted, and who consequently continue to find themselves disproportionately in trouble with the law and in conflict with police. This article reviews the efforts which have been made in Canada during the last thirty years to meet these challenges, and assesses the extent to which such efforts can be regarded as adequate or successful as we enter into the new millennium. The article concludes with some suggestions as to what will be required to meet these challenges more effectively in the future, and a caution against unrealistic expectations of the public police in this regard.

Introduction

In Canada as in many other countries, the challenges of policing an increasingly culturally, racially, ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse society have preoccupied policymakers and academics during the last four decades. A combination of dramatically increased immigration, and police services that have often slowly or reluctantly recognized the need for and embraced changes within their organizations and practices, has led to still-unresolved tension and conflict between police and many members of the communities they serve. Although such difficulties are not unique to policing, the particular role of police in maintaining order and enforcing the law places them on the front lines of such conflicts and ensures that their activities will attract a great deal of media (and hence public and political) attention.

In this paper, I review the principal developments in the policing of Canada's increasingly multicultural communities during the latter decades of the 20th century and offer some tentative assessments of the progress made in this delicate and highly controversial area of public policy. An overview of the changing composition of Canadian society, particularly in its metropolitan areas, during the last 40 years and the associated challenges for policing is presented, and the principal responses to these challenges are explored. Issues that have arisen with respect to the policing of Canada's indigenous Aboriginal communities are also discussed, and the roles and experiences of private policing organizations in addressing the challenges of policing multicultural communities are reviewed. Some practical and methodological obstacles to undertaking research on this topic are then addressed, and a conceptual dilemma for policy and practice in this area is also raised. The paper concludes with a summary and assessment of progress in addressing these issues in Canada and some suggestions as to how policy may be improved (and hopefully be made more effective) in the future.

The Changing Canadian Mosaic

During the last four decades of the 20th century, the racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious makeup of the Canadian population, especially in its largest cities, underwent significant change. In 1961, almost 97 percent of Canada's population was of European extraction, and nearly half of these individuals were of British

origin. The remaining 3 percent of the population consisted of native North Americans (1.2 percent); people from Latin, Central, and South American countries (approximately 1.2 percent); and people of Asian origin (0.7 percent). Within just one generation, however, this picture had completely changed. By 1991, people of European extraction constituted only 60 percent of Canada's population, and only a third of these were of British extraction.[2] People from South, East, and Southeast Asia now constituted more than 5 percent of the population. The remaining 35 percent consisted of a kaleidoscope of peoples from all over the world. The people identified as "black" had increased from 0.2 percent of the population in 1961 to just less than 1 percent in 1991[3] and 2 percent by 1996.[4] Canada was known for having some of the most liberal immigration policies in the world. By 1996, 11 percent of the population identified themselves as members of visible minority groups and about 17 percent were immigrants.[5] Although immigration levels declined somewhat during the late 1990s,[6] the government has recognized that at least 250,000 new immigrants will be required each year if the population is to be maintained at current levels during the coming decades.[7]

This general transformation in the makeup of the Canadian population between 1961 and 1991, however, was much more marked in Canada's largest cities (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver), which became home to the vast majority of new immigrants.[8] During those 30 years, for example, Toronto's population multiplied almost sixfold, and immigration accounted for most of this increase. In 1961, 95 percent of Torontonians were of European extraction, but by 1991 this population had been reduced to 47 percent. The proportion of this city's population who were of South, East, and Southeast Asian extraction increased from fewer than 2 percent to just more than 14 percent during these 30 years, while the proportion of those identified as "black" increased from 0.5 percent to 3.3 percent.[9] It was estimated that, by 2001, about half the population of Toronto and 40 percent of the population of Vancouver would be members of visible minority groups (Linden, 2000: 169).

In response to this great diversification of the Canadian population, and to further its adherence to international conventions,[10] the Canadian Parliament enacted the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988.[11] This unusual statute contains a declaration that multiculturalism is "the policy of the Government of Canada," and in particular that it is the Government's policy "to ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity" (paragraph 3(1)(e)), and that all federal institutions (including the federal police force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or R.C.M.P.[12]) shall "generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada" (paragraph 3(2)(f)). These statutory commitments were consistent with constitutional requirements in the Canadian Charter of Rights

and Freedoms, enacted as part of the Constitution of Canada 6 years earlier in 1982. Section 15 of the Charter declares: "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability."[13] Section 27 provides: "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."

Challenges for Policing

As might be expected, the sweeping demographic changes that have occurred in Canada as a result of immigration during the last 40 years have brought enormous benefits to Canada. They have also, however, generated some major challenges for policing, especially in the major cities. New immigrants have brought with them different attitudes toward government, police, the law, justice, appropriate social order, interpersonal relations and child rearing, and a host of hitherto unfamiliar (and by Canadian standards sometimes illegal[14]) cultural and religious practices. In some cases, they have also brought with them tensions and conflicts from their own former homelands, including incipient "governments in exile" and offshoots of resistance and liberation movements.[15] All these challenges have, of course, been compounded by issues of communication; many of the new immigrants were slow to learn either of Canada's two official languages (English and French) or did not see the necessity of learning them at all, and police services were not capable of delivering services in multiple languages.

As if these challenges were not enough, reactions to the new immigrants generated more problems. Integration has often been slow and difficult and, in many instances, actively resisted. Immigrants have faced prejudice, discrimination, scapegoating (being unjustly blamed, for instance, for high unemployment and crime), and outright challenge by openly racist "white power" groups.

Problems of acceptance, integration, and outright discrimination have led to numerous incidents and tensions involving members of minority immigrant groups, especially in the largest metropolitan areas, as well as tensions between minority group members and the police.[16] In Toronto and Montreal, for example, and to a lesser extent in Halifax, Nova Scotia, allegations of unjustified "overpolicing" and excessive police use of force (including lethal force) against blacks[17] abounded during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and led to the establishment of numerous public inquiries,[18] coroners' inquests,[19] and organized political protests and demonstrations.

Policy Responses

These various inquiries generated a long string of recommendations that have formed the basis for policy development with respect to police race relations and the policing of diverse communities. Broadly speaking, these recommendations have fallen into six categories:[20] (1) recommendations for racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversification of police human resources; (2) recommendations for "culturally specific" or "cultural sensitivity" training of police officers; (3) recommendations for increased liaison and communication between the police and the minority communities with which they come into contact; (4) recommendations for the adoption of formal antiracism and race relations policies by police services, with associated monitoring and disciplinary mechanisms to respond to violations of such policies; (5) recommendations for review and revision of operational policing policies and practices which may lead to "systemic discrimination" against members of minority groups; and (6) recommendations for inclusion of more minority group representatives within the membership of police governing authorities (cf. Winterton et al., 1984; and Fleras, 1989: 157). An important related development has been (7) the establishment of hate crimes units within Canadian police services. Each of these classes of recommendations is discussed in the following sections.

Diversification of the Police Workforce

In an era in which policing has been seen almost exclusively as the responsibility of public police services, those services inevitably found themselves on the front line in responding to (and being expected to provide the primary response to) the numerous conflicts, both within and between communities and between minority groups and the police themselves, to which these challenges gave rise. Yet they were terribly ill prepared for the task. Indeed, almost everything about public police organizations in Canada at that time rendered them ill equipped to meet the challenges of policing such a multicultural society. Most uniformed officers who were hired during the 1960s, for example, were young, poorly educated, Christian, white males with little or no previous exposure to, or training with respect to, people from other cultures, races, or religions or capacity to communicate in more than one of the country's two official languages. Senior officers were even less potentially adaptable; many had joined the police service immediately after returning from military service in World War II and had grown up in a society in which significant multiculturalism and multiethnicity were virtually unknown. Command structures and organizational protocols were rigid and highly centralized, leaving little room for local adaptation and responsiveness to the different needs and expectations of diverse ethnic and cultural communities. Furthermore, the other elements of the criminal justice system, to which so much of the work of the police was so closely connected, were

no better prepared to respond to the challenges of racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity than the police were.[21]

Some police leaders and policymakers appreciated, albeit often somewhat belatedly[22] and after goading by academics,[23] that major changes to police organizations would be required to adapt them to meet these new challenges. Conditions for bringing about such changes, however, were not favorable. Although the 1960s saw substantial increases in police budgets and personnel, personnel policies and recruiting practices did not change quickly enough to achieve significant change in the demography of police services. Despite some aggressive recruiting campaigns, younger members of the new immigrant communities, for a variety of reasons, did not flock to join the police services. Many could not qualify,[24] and many who could were dissuaded by their peers and elders from joining the police, often because police had not been well regarded or trusted in their countries of origin. The few members of minority groups who did join the police services all too often found themselves isolated, "ghettoized," subjected to overt racism, systemic discrimination, and hostility from their peers and superiors[25] as well as suspicion from and rejection by their own communities.

By the mid-1970s, economic downturn and consequent fiscal constraints put an end to significant recruitment and numerical expansion of police services[26] and put pressure on police training and human resources development budgets. Consequently, by the time appropriate policies and strategies for increased diversification of police personnel had been developed, the resources needed to implement them had substantially declined. Continued tensions between police and visible minority communities in Canada's major cities throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, however, led to increasing pressures on the police to diversify their workforces (see, e.g., Ontario, Task Force, 1980; Winterton et al., 1984; Normandeau, 1988).

In 1986, Hill and Schiff wrote of the "modest initial results" of increased efforts to recruit members of visible minority groups as police officers and stressed that to achieve a "visibly mixed" police service to serve a "visibly mixed" society, minority recruitment efforts would need to be "stepped up and made more penetrating" (1986: 87). Since then, numerous commissions, task forces, and government and other reports have lamented the lack of adequate progress in the recruitment and promotion of members of visible minority groups within Canadian police services (see, e.g., Quebec, Comite d'enquete, 1988; Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1989: 55–92; Nova Scotia, Royal Commission, 1989; Head and Clairmont, 1989; Wilson et al., 1990; Jayewardene and Talbot, 1990; Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1992: 30–57; Quebec, 1992; Nelson, 1992;

Andrews, 1992; Suriya, 1993; British Columbia, Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia, 1994: E13–E19).

Despite all these urgings, and genuine and often quite vigorous attempts by many police leaders to "change the faces" of their organizations to better reflect the cultural makeup of the communities they policed, and despite some formal statutory employment equity requirements introduced in the 1990s,[27] the ethnic and cultural composition of police services in Canada has remained stubbornly out of alignment with that of many of the communities they police. Thus, while 11 percent of the Canadian population (and a much higher proportion of the populations of the major cities) identified themselves as members of visible minority groups in 1996, only 3 percent of police officers were members of such groups (Swol, 1998: 8, Table 6).[28] In Toronto, the Canadian city with the largest municipal police service and a very substantial ethnic/visible minority population (estimated now to be close to half the population),[29] ethnic/visible minority representation[30] among sworn officers in the police service increased from less than 6 percent in 1991 to 10 percent (508 of its 5,089 sworn officers) in 2000.[31] Sixteen percent of its sworn officers speak one or more languages other than English or French.[32] In Montreal, Canada's second largest city, the visible minority population constituted 12 percent of the total population in 1996, but by the year 2000, after 10 years of aggressive recruitment efforts, visible minority members still constituted only 3.7 percent of the sworn officers in the Montreal Urban Community (M.U.C.) Police Service.[33] In British Columbia, the Oppal Inquiry pointed out in 1994: "While 8 per cent of the population in BC is of Chinese or Indo-Canadian origin, the number of police officers from visible minorities (three per cent) does not come close to representing these two groups, let alone other visible minority groups" (British Columbia, Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia, 1994: E13–E14). By 1996, the visible minority population constituted 31 percent of the population of the City of Vancouver and 18 percent of the province's population. Yet by 1999, visible minority officers constituted 7 percent of the officers on the City of Vancouver Police Service and 7 percent of all municipal police officers in the province.[34] As a strategy to respond to the challenges of multiculturalism in Canada, therefore, attempts to "diversify" the police workforce have met with limited success so far.[35]

Culturally Specific or Cultural Sensitivity Training

In the early 1980s, a concerted effort was made to develop what came to be referred to as "Police Intercultural Education" (Miner, 1984). The objectives of the programs developed as a result of these initiatives were identified as follows:

1. To encourage interaction and understanding between members of the police department and members of the racial and cultural minority communities.
2. To develop understanding of and sensitivity to the values, beliefs and behaviours of people from racial and cultural groups different from ones own.
3. To assist the police to utilize minority community resources and apply strategies which will work effectively in policing minority communities.
4. To provide members of minority communities with an understanding of how the police department operates, what community service programs it provides, and how minority communities can relate to the police department. (Miner, 1984, p. 88)

Evaluations of the initial "police intercultural" courses were not very encouraging (see, e.g., Wilson et al., 1990). While evaluators found there had been some benefits from the interactions between police personnel and representatives of minority groups participating in the courses in terms of communication and sharing of information, they were skeptical about the impact of the courses on police attitudes and practices. In particular, the evaluators noted that "the 'power' of the workshop experience was insufficient to counter the 'power' of the social forces which shape attitude development" within the police (Ungerleider and Echols, 1984, p. 91).

These early evaluations were quite limited, however, being based essentially on surveys of participants before and after participation in the courses. They were not therefore capable of assessing possible wider, cumulative, and longer term impacts of these initiatives. By the end of the 1980s, however, serious doubts were being voiced about the efficacy of such discrete educational initiatives to improve police-minority group relations and the quality of policing in multicultural communities. In 1989, the Lewis Task Force in Ontario concluded:

> The Task Force reviewed existing race relations programs. Our strong belief, based on expert opinion, is that this training falls so far short of what is needed, in both design and delivery, that it is not only inadequate but may also result in reinforcing stereotypes.

> (Ontario (1989), Race Relations and Policing Task Force, p. 97)

The task force recommended that police officers in the province should be required to undergo a 4-week "refresher training" course at 5 years of service and every 5 years thereafter. It further recommended that such training be required to include "a significant component of professionally evaluated race relations training and that it integrates race relations issues throughout the curriculum" (Ibid.: 103).[36] Despite a subsequent comprehensive province wide review of police training in the province (Ontario, Strategic Planning Committee, 1992) - which, incidentally, barely touched

20

on this particular issue - and a reiteration and elaboration of its earlier recommendations by the task force when it was reconvened in 1992 (Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1992: 71–92), the task force recommendations in this respect have never been fully implemented. In its 1992 report, the task force noted "with regret" that "efforts in this area have been a major failure" (Ibid.: 92). Unfortunately, not much has happened since to warrant any revision of that assessment.[37]

Similar but less detailed recommendations were included in the 1994 final report of the Oppal Inquiry in British Columbia (British Columbia, Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia, 1994, Vol I, p. E-40).

Police/Minority Community Liaison

The establishment of ethnic community consultation and/or liaison groups to advise police and maintain open communications between the police and such communities has undoubtedly been the most common strategy adopted by Canadian police services in their attempts to improve relations between the police and members of ethnic or visible minority communities. Often this has been accompanied by the establishment, within police services themselves, of a unit specifically tasked with enhancing such relations (see, e.g., Fleras et al., 1989). Almost all of the various commissions of inquiry, task forces, and committees previously referred to have advocated the establishment of such institutions, and all of the police services that service communities with significant ethnic or visible minority populations have experimented with them.

As has been the case in many other jurisdictions, however, and with almost all such consultative groups, whether addressing multicultural issues or "community" issues more generally, a number of difficulties have been experienced in getting such groups to function as intended and to achieve desired objectives. The first of these problems has concerned the issue of representation. Concerns are often raised about who determines who will represent minority communities on such groups. If, as is often the case, the police control appointments to such groups, a perception easily arises that only the members of such communities who are supportive of the police are appointed, leaving critics of the police without representation.

If, on the other hand, minority communities are left to choose their own representatives on such groups, there may often be disputes about who can legitimately represent the interests of various minority communities, as well as whether (and if so how) a consultative committee can be formed that is at once large enough to represent all the various minority community interests, and at the same

21

time small enough to be viable as a working committee. Furthermore, when the police do not have control over who is appointed to such committees, they will sometimes show reluctance to work with, and listen seriously to the opinions of, those representatives whom, for one reason or another, they do not consider "suitable" for such positions.

Even setting aside these issues, however, further issues arise about who, in practice, actually controls the agendas and business activities of such consultative groups. In a "process evaluation" of some of the early "pilot community committees" established in Toronto to improve relations between the police force and members of visible minority communities in the city, for example, Gandy commented more than 20 years ago on the "low level of communication between members at the meetings"; the high turnover in committee membership, low attendance and community participation, and presence at such meetings of senior police officers that was perceived to be intimidating; and "a feeling of community members that the police were experts who might be questioned but not challenged" (1979, pp. 61–68). He reported that "several community members expressed frustration that the police felt that an explanation or an answer to a complaint closed an issue for further discussion." He also expressed concern that "among the unanticipated consequences of the lack of communication between police and community members of the committee may be the reinforcement of preconceived notions or prejudices of each group about the other or the enhancement of an adversarial relationship between the police and the public" (Ibid.: 62). He reported that this situation had led to members of the committees feeling distrust, frustration, and dissatisfaction.

Although Gandy was reporting on consultative committees that were among the first of their kind in Canada and were established more than 20 years ago, similar difficulties with such committees have been reported in other jurisdictions[38] and continue to be observed. Despite a very concerted effort to identify conditions for success of community consultative groups (see, e.g., Weiler and Associates, 1992), and strong headquarters encouragement toward their establishment, internal reports on implementation of this element of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's community policing policy across the country still reiterate many of the difficulties Gandy identified in his report (see, e.g., Johnson and Dubois, 1994: 35 and 39–40; Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1995: 4–7 and 18–20; Todd and Todd, 1997; and, most recently, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1998[39]). These difficulties are probably best summed up by Richard Weiler and Associates Ltd., in a document they prepared on this subject in 1992 to assist the R.C.M.P. in establishing such groups:

> Development of successful committees sometimes encounters roadblocks. Various reasons have been put forth to explain the failure of committees to materialize or continue:

Lack of commitment

Police officials sometimes fall short in their commitment. They may lack resources to support committee development, be unwilling to train committee members, or fail to respond to committee concerns or take action on priorities.

Communities can also show a lack of support for committees. Some believe the same objectives are being achieved through existing interagency committees, local officials, etc. Some resist formal means of organizing community opinion. They argue that current informal relations with police are adequate. Other communities suggest that a committee is inappropriate since they have no crime problem.

Unrealistic expectations

Committees do not always continue their work. Members don't show up. The group fails to develop objectives sufficient to justify the committee's continuance. Members become frustrated with lack of police response. They may be concerned that their participation will be viewed as a "spying" exercise. Some committees are overwhelmed by the complexity of issues they believe require attention. They lack the credibility, competence, time and resources to meet these challenges.

Some police organizations develop detailed implementation plans for committees that are simply unsuited to the character of a community. This is often the result of misinterpretation, or misunderstanding within a RCMP division of the Commissioner's policy on consultation groups. Unrealistic rigidities may be introduced to the implementation of the committees, the characteristics or operations of committees, or the timeframe expected for full implementation.

Geographic Area

Committees are sometimes designed to meet the needs of populations that do not represent a natural community - for instance when they are defined to conform with police boundaries. This design flaw can result in communities with distinctive characteristics and different community policing interests being represented through one committee. The marriage can fail if no common agenda is possible. Some committees attempt to deal with agendas that do not fit the communities they serve.

<div align="right">(Weiler and Associates Ltd. (1992), pp. 26–28[40])</div>

Almost all of these difficulties are reported as having been encountered by R.C.M.P. detachments during the 1990s in the force's internal audits of the implementation of its "community consultative groups." Most commonly cited obstacles to effective implementation have been lack of clarity as to the mandate and role of such groups, lack of sincere commitment to genuine consultation on the part of some police members, problems of burnout and dissipating interest and commitment on the part of members of such groups, and frustration occasioned by a perceived lack of response by the police to the suggestions and priorities voiced by such groups (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1995; Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1998).

Formal Antiracism and Race Relations Policies and Monitoring

Often as the result of pressures arising out of the hearing of complaints by provincial Human Rights Commissions, many governmental institutions began to adopt formal antiracism, race relations, and equality policies in the 1970s. The police were somewhat slower, however, to implement this particular approach. One of the first and clearest examples of it was initiated by the (then) Metropolitan Toronto Police Force[41] in the late 1970s. In 1979, in response to conflicts between the force and ethnic minority communities, and consequent pressures from minority community representatives, their political supporters on local councils, and the Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board (the governing authority for the police force), the force promulgated Standing Order No. 24, entitled "Declaration of Concern and Intent," which required every member of the police force to "avoid any expression or display of prejudice, bigotry, discrimination, and sexual or racial harassment." It also committed the force and the board to implementing many of the kinds of recommended initiatives discussed in this paper and provided that disciplinary action would be taken against members of the force who contravened the declaration. Standing Order No. 24 was revised in 1985 and formally reaffirmed in 1989. In 1990, it was incorporated into a formal Race Relations Policy promulgated by the Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board (Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board, 1990).[42] In addition to Standing Order No. 24, the policy included five policy statements on community relations, employment equity, staff development and training, media relations, and public complaints.[43]

Concerns were raised, however, as to whether the promulgation of Standing Order No. 24 and the Race Relations Policy had actually had any impact on police practices (see e.g., "Policing in a Multiracial Society", 1985). To respond to these concerns, the Police Services Board asked the Metropolitan Toronto Auditor in 1992 to conduct an audit of "policies, procedures, programs and practices [of the police force] that impact on racial minorities and the police race relations climate" (Andrews, 1992: Letter of Transmittal). The audit was ambitiously conceived but eventually handicapped by inadequate resources. In his report, the Metropolitan Toronto Auditor noted:

> In this study, we found no evidence at all of organized, intentional prejudice or bias against racial minorities. Nor did we find evidence that the Force attracts individuals who are overtly racist. We did find evidence[44] that, over time, officers develop strong feelings and beliefs as to attributes of individuals based on factors such as appearance and racial background. These attitudes, when taken collectively, can and do produce a bias in behaviour which produces unequal treatment of individuals of different cultural or racial background.
>
> (Andrews, 1992, p. 2)

The audit reviewed how effectively and adequately the Race Relations Policy had been reflected in personnel practices, training, access to services, enforcement, community relations, the handling of public complaints and discipline, and media relations and communications. It noted a combination of significant progress and substantial shortcomings and listed 74 recommendations for improvements. It remains the most substantial attempt to monitor and evaluate the implementation of such a formal race relations policy in any police service in Canada. The Metropolitan Toronto Police Force responded to the audit report with a comprehensive plan of action designed to implement the principal recommendations of the report (Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, 1994).

The initiative in Toronto, and the recommendations of two task force reports on race relations and policing in Ontario,[45] led to the establishment of a Race Relations and Policing Unit in 1990[46] and a provincial Race Relations and Policing Monitoring and Audit Board in 1992, within the provincial Ministry of the Solicitor General, with a mandate to monitor all aspects of police race relations in the province. A year later, the Ministry promulgated a formal province wide police race relation's policy (Ontario, Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services, 1993). The Monitoring and Audit Board was short lived, however, and in 1996 it was abolished in the course of a more general governmental cost-cutting measure (cf McLeod 1996). Responsibility for monitoring implementation of, and compliance with, the race relations policy was assumed by the Ministry's Inspection Branch, which was mandated to conduct regular inspections of municipal and regional police services throughout the province.[47] The report of the Oppal Inquiry into policing in British Columbia in 1994 recommended similar provincial monitoring of employment equity within police services in that province (British Columbia, Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia, 1994: Recommendation 58, Vol. 1, p. E–18). Although no formal ongoing mechanism for such monitoring has apparently been established, a review of the composition of municipal police department staff and recruits during the period from 1996 to 1999 was undertaken (Watt, 1999).

In its 1989 report, the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force recommended that provincial authorities should establish a medal of excellence to be awarded annually to police forces that had achieved significant progress in

implementing employment equity; that individual police services should establish achievement awards for officers with outstanding performance in race relations or community policing; and that officers who had served well in specialized race and ethnic relations units should receive positive recognition for this when promotional decisions were made.[48] Published information as to whether, and if so to what extent, these recommendations have been implemented in Ontario could not be found at the time this article was written.

In 1991, as part of the implementation of a National Action Plan developed following a major national consultation by the federal Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship in 1989, the federal Solicitor General of Canada established a Canadian Centre for Police Race Relations on the premises of the Canadian Police College in Ottawa.[49] The Centre was provided with a small staff and a mandate to monitor developments and innovation in police race relations in police services throughout the country, function as a resource and communication center and, on request, provide advice to police services on these matters.[50] The Centre, however, had no jurisdiction to formally monitor race relations in any police service in Canada.[51] Unfortunately, as a result of cutbacks to the budget of the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, the Centre was closed in 1999.

Review and Revision of Operational Policing Policies Leading to Systemic Discrimination Against Members of Minority Groups

Considerable review of operational policing policies that may have some impact on relations between police and members of minority groups has occurred through the various reviews, task forces, commissions of inquiry, and audits already referred to, and many recommendations for changes in such policies have emerged from these reviews. In 1992, however, the Ontario Government established a Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System. The commission sat for 3 years, held hearings, and commissioned a substantial amount of original research on a wide variety of issues concerning the treatment and experiences of members of minority groups in all phases of the criminal justice system and the perceptions of, and attitudes toward, the criminal justice system held by members of such groups.[52] Since the subject of police race relations in Ontario had recently been the subject of two task force reports,[53] it was not the highest priority for the commission. Nevertheless, the commission devoted a chapter of its 1995 report to the police (Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995a, Ch. 10). The commission reported that "[D]espite the best efforts of reformers, community members and police officers…well-founded concerns about systemic racism[54] continue to taint the policing system," and commented that

26

"concerns about systemic racism in police practices remain widespread and deeply felt" (Ibid.: 336 and 337). The commission reported evidence that the majority of Toronto residents who were surveyed believed that "the police treat black people worse than white people" and that a substantial minority believed that police discriminate against Chinese people. It also reported survey evidence that lent "considerable weight" to community concerns that police discretion with respect to stopping people in cars and on foot was "exercised in a racially discriminatory manner."[55] In addition, the commission wrote that its consultations:

> [P]roduced numerous allegations of rude and disrespectful police treatment and of excessive police scrutiny of black and other racialized Ontarians[56], and revealed strongly held beliefs that police authorities tolerate such abusive behaviour. We also found considerable suspicion of community policing, especially among black and other racialized youths. Many feel excluded from the co-operative partnerships that community policing envisages; they fear that racial equality is not on the community policing agenda.
>
> (Ibid, p. 337)

The commission's response to these concerns was to endorse the approaches advocated by the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force in its 1994 document *Moving Forward Together: An Integrated Approach to Race Relations* (Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, 1994); recommend the creation, by police services boards, of more local "community policing committees" with minority group representation on them; and recommend the development and publication, by the provincial Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services, of "guidelines for the exercise of police discretion to stop and question people, with the goal of eliminating differential treatment of black and other racialized people" (Ibid.: 359). In addition, the commission recommended that each police service should conduct "a comprehensive review of its commitment to racial equality in policing" (Ibid, p. 343), on the basis of which it should develop an action plan to achieve and maintain such equality, which would be regularly monitored by its police services board. As a further monitoring mechanism, the commission recommended the publication of a Public Complaints Policy Statement, the establishment of a "comprehensive public complaints database that includes categories that would allow the police to monitor complaints about police stops of black or other racialized people," and the funding of education on formal and informal police complaint mechanisms (Ibid, p. 360). The commission's report constitutes the most comprehensive examination of issues of systemic discrimination in policing in Canada. Unfortunately, as a result of a change of government in Ontario around the time the commission's report was submitted, many of its recommendations have not been acted upon.

Minority Representation on Police Governing Authorities

Compared with the attention that has been paid to relations between police services and members of minority groups in Canada, very little attention has been paid directly to the role of police governing authorities (variously named police commissions or police services boards). Research in the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, made it clear that at that time, the membership of such governing authorities tended to be drawn from a narrow pool (mostly white, male business or professional people) and rarely included representation from visible and/or ethnic minority groups (Stenning, 1981: Part II, Ch. 1; Hann et al., 1985, pp. 19–20). During the latter half of the 1980s, however, provincial governments began to make a conscious effort to appoint such persons as members of police governing authorities in the belief that such appointments would enhance the capacity of police governing authorities to accurately represent the views and wishes of the communities served by their police services, particularly in the ethnically diverse metropolitan centers. They were further encouraged in this respect by the Canadian Association of Police Boards (CAPB), which was established in 1990, as well as in the reports of a number of provincial inquiries and task forces on policing.[57] In its 1995 report, the Ontario Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System recommended that municipal and regional police services boards in the province should establish local community policing committees (CPCs) with various consultative, monitoring, and advisory functions with respect to the policing of their communities, and that "every effort should be made to ensure that CPC's are gender-balanced and include young persons and members of locally racialized communities" (Ontario Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995a: 348). In addition, the CAPB, together with its provincial counterparts, has regularly mounted seminars to educate police governing authority members on matters related to their responsibilities, including issues of police race relations and the problems of policing a multicultural society. No systematic information is available, however, as to the current composition of municipal and regional police governing authorities in Canada or the extent to which police governing authority members have received any training in matters of multiculturalism and race relations and their relevance to policing. It is difficult, therefore, to assess how much impact these recent developments have had on police governing authorities.

28

Hate Crimes Units

Canada's long history of immigration, initially primarily from Europe and more recently from other parts of the world, has also unfortunately been accompanied by a history of prejudice and intolerance. For decades, for instance, blacks in Ontario and Nova Scotia and persons of Chinese origin in British Columbia experienced significant racial discrimination. With the substantial immigration of European Jews fleeing the Holocaust in the middle of the 20th century, antisemitism became a serious problem in many parts of Canada (Backhouse, 1999). Japanese immigrants on the west coast were transported, interned, and dispossessed during World War II (Adachi, 1976), as were Italians and Germans in Ontario (Iacovetta et al., 2000). And there has been a long history of discrimination against Canada's Aboriginal people (see, e.g., Bartlett, 1986; Cairns, 2000).

The great immigration boom in the 1960s generated further concerns about racial and religious intolerance, and in 1965 the federal government established a special committee to study the problem of hate propaganda and make recommendations. The committee's report was published in the following year (Canada, Special Committee on Hate Propaganda in Canada, 1966), recommending the enactment of offences in the Criminal Code outlawing public incitement to, and willful promotion of, hatred against "identifiable groups" and advocacy or promotion of genocide. In 1970, these offences were added to the Criminal Code,[58] and their constitutionality has been subsequently upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada.[59] The law in this area was subsequently revisited by a Special Committee of the House of Commons in 1984 (Canada, House of Commons, Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, 1984) and the Law Reform Commission of Canada in 1986 (Canada, Law Reform Commission of Canada, 1986), both of which recommended improvements, including the addition of racial hatred as an aggravating factor in sentencing. In 1995, the Criminal Code was further amended to achieve this result.[60]

Concerns over the spread of hate propaganda and hate-motivated crimes, and over the socially destructive effects that inadequate investigation and prosecution of such offences might cause, led the Toronto and Ottawa police services to establish specialized Hate Crimes Investigation Units in 1993. Police services in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver soon followed suit and, according to Mock (2000), "at the present time, most large cities in Canada have police hate crimes units, or at least specialized officers within intelligence or other relevant units, responsible for developing expertise in the area, training their colleagues and documenting the incidents of hate-motivated crime, including statistics on target groups."[61]

The Policing of Aboriginal People

Although Canada's Aboriginal ("First Nations") population has not significantly increased as a proportion of the population as a whole (it remains at about 2 percent), recognition of, and responsiveness to, the needs of this particular minority group have increased significantly over the last 30 years. The Charter of Rights contains two provisions (Sections 25 and 35) that specifically recognize and protect the Aboriginal rights of Canada's indigenous native peoples. Because of their special status within the Constitution, issues concerning the rights and heritage of Canada's Aboriginal peoples are usually addressed separately from those concerning the multicultural interests of immigrant groups, and in this regard policing has been no exception. Since the federal Parliament has constitutional responsibility for the protection of the country's Aboriginal peoples, the responsibility for the policing of Aboriginal people (especially those living on reserve lands) has historically resided with the federal government rather than with provincial governments, which have primary responsibility for policing more generally. During the last 30 years, however, this responsibility has increasingly been addressed through tripartite negotiated agreements involving the federal government and the provincial governments and First Nations concerned. In 1992, after protracted consultations and negotiations, the federal government introduced a formal First Nations Policing Policy (Canada, Solicitor-General, 1992), which has provided the broad framework for policy development in this area since then.[62] Under these agreements, the policing of First Nations communities is undertaken by the federal police service (the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, through its specialized Aboriginal Policing Branch), or by newly established "stand-alone" First Nations policing services, or sometimes through cooperation between Aboriginal policing services and provincial or adjacent municipal police services.[63] The First Nations Policing Policy, and the various policing agreements that have been negotiated pursuant to it, however, have focused almost exclusively on the policing arrangements for First Nations communities (i.e., essentially native Indians living in native communities on reserve lands). An increasingly high proportion (estimated now to be more than 60 percent) of Aboriginal people in Canada are now living in Canada's urban areas,[64] however, and are thus are not directly affected by, and do not directly benefit from, these policing policies and arrangements. Although some of the municipal or regional police services that police these urban areas have developed specialized Aboriginal liaison units specifically to address issues relevant to their Aboriginal populations, most have not, with the result that the policing needs of these Aboriginal people tend to be addressed within the context of multicultural policing issues more generally (see, e.g., LaPrairie, 1995; Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, pp. 83–93; Todd, 2001).

During the last 30 years, the relationship between the police and Canada's Aboriginal people has been the subject of a number of public inquiries and reports across the country,[65] mostly arising out of allegations of "underpolicing," "overpolicing," and discriminatory policing of Aboriginal people, both on reserves and in urban areas. Some of these have arisen out of wrongful convictions of Aboriginal people (e.g., Nova Scotia, Commission of Inquiry into the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution, 1989) and killings of Aboriginal people by police (e.g., Manitoba, 1991; Goodson, 2000). Policy with respect to the policing of Aboriginal communities in Canada, however, has been debated within two broader frames of reference—the disproportionate representation of Aboriginal people in Canada's correctional institutions[66] and the more general agenda of self-government for Aboriginal peoples[67]—which are beyond the scope of this article.

Private Policing

Compared with published research on the role of the public police in the policing of multicultural communities, the contribution of private policing has been almost totally neglected. There are some reasons to think, however, that at least in some respects private policing organizations may be better placed for the policing of such communities than their public police counterparts. Recently, for instance, the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics has published figures indicating that ethnic minorities are better represented in private policing organizations than in public police services. Data published by the Centre, based on 1996 census returns, indicate that members of visible minority groups accounted for 6 percent of private investigators and 11 percent of security guards in Canada, compared with only 3 percent of public police officers[68] (Swol, 1998: 7). At present, however, there is virtually no systematic information available in Canada about what initiatives have been put in place in private policing organizations to respond to the particular policing needs of multicultural communities, or to what extent this is regarded as a priority by private policing providers.[69]

In the 1980s concerns were raised about the policing of areas of "publicly used private property,"[70] such as shopping malls, recreational facilities, and housing estates, by private policing organizations. In particular, accusations were made of discrimination against youth and members of visible minority groups in the enforcement of petty trespass legislation. The almost unfettered discretion of security guards, acting on behalf of property owners, to require people to leave such places without explanation or justification[71] was pointed to as facilitating such discrimination. The government of Ontario appointed a task force to look into these allegations and to make a report with recommendations. In its report, the task force concluded that there was indeed evidence of such discrimination (Ontario, 1987: Ch.

5). The task force recommended that the provincial trespass legislation should be amended to place constraints on the exercise of such discretion and to increase the accountability of private policing organizations for their use of these powers. These recommendations, however, have never been implemented.[72] Rigakos' (2002) and Rigakos and Greener's (2000) more recent research suggests that the problems identified by the Task Force in 1987 may still be outstanding.

Research Difficulties

One factor that has bedevilled debates about the policing of a multicultural society in Canada has been the absence of good data on the implications of policing for different racial and ethnic groups. Although anecdotal evidence of discriminatory policing abounds, "hard" data on this subject do not.[73] This is in large part because the collection of race-based data with respect to policing has been steadfastly resisted in Canada, mainly out of fear that such data might be misused to the detriment of some racial or ethnic groups[74], and partly out of skepticism about the accuracy and usefulness of such data. Despite some vigorous arguments to the contrary (see, e.g., Wortley, 1999), the view has prevailed that the dangers of collecting such statistics outweigh any possible benefits. An important consequence of this has been that discussion of policing a multicultural society in Canada has had to occur in something of an informational vacuum.

Ideally, the success of the various policy responses to the policing challenges posed by increasing diversity would be assessed by considering the impact of such policies in terms of such measures as changing crime rates and changing patterns of complaints against the police. The absence of any systematic hard data linking such matters to the race of suspects, offenders, victims, and those who file complaints against police in Canada, however, currently makes such evaluations impossible. As a result, any assessments of such programs must inevitably be no more than tentative and largely impressionistic.

A Conceptual Dilemma?

At the heart of any discussion or policy with respect to policing in a multicultural environment, however, may be a conceptual dilemma that has received inadequate attention. It is perhaps best illustrated by the observation that one of the most common responses to accusations of discriminatory policing is a call for cultural sensitivity training or education for police officers. That is, to render police less culturally discriminatory, we need to make them more cognizant of cultural differences. Although it is not difficult to appreciate the arguments in favor of such

an approach, it is also not difficult to imagine how it may confuse police officers who, on the one hand, are told that cultural (or racial or ethnic) difference is an inappropriate basis for discretionary decision making, and on the other hand, are told that they must always be alert and sensitive to cultural (or racial or ethnic) differences among those with whom they interact, and respond accordingly.

Underlying such an approach is an assumption that a clear distinction can be drawn between positive and negative discrimination. Yet such a distinction is not always self-evident and may not be so readily accepted by police officers, especially if it seems to conflict with their own experience of policing and/or with the tropes of their profession (Shearing and Ericson, 1991)[75] and when there is little hard evidence to support it. As Gaskell has pointed out in another context in Canada (Gaskell, 1995):

> The line between flexibility (treating people differently because they are different) and discrimination (treating people differently because of the group they belong to) is not always clear. An active teaching process is required to encourage an understanding of differences while also ensuring fairness.
>
> (Ibid, p. 155)

It may be, then, that some further work is needed to clarify this critical conceptual distinction and to present it in a way to which police officers can more readily relate. That issue, however, is certainly not unique to Canada and would require another article to be adequately explored.

Conclusion

Over the last 40 years, a variety of initiatives and activities have taken place at both the policy and operational levels to better equip Canada's police services for meeting the challenges of policing a multicultural society that have resulted from population diversification brought about through increased immigration. While few would doubt the sincerity and good intentions of the initiatives, they have achieved limited success in meeting their stated objectives. Canada still experiences significant problems and tensions between and within its diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious communities and between members of these communities and its police services. This is also true with respect to its indigenous Aboriginal population.

Success has been limited, in part, because it is far beyond the capacity and mandate of the police to address the underlying causes of such problems and tensions (such as intolerance, discrimination, and associated unequal access to education, employment, and social services). Two other issues are raised but not fully explored

33

in this paper: a lack of good data on the nature of the problems that law enforcement personnel face in policing a multicultural society and on their success in doing so; and a potential conceptual dilemma underlying approaches to policing a multicultural society that has not been adequately addressed or resolved.

Despite these difficulties, however, considerable and consistent progress toward more appropriate and effective policing of Canada's multicultural society has been observed over the last 40 years. It is likely that the situation would be worse today without the activities and initiatives undertaken over that same period. Although such conclusions are unsatisfactorily vague, they are the best that can be offered until systematic data that could form the basis for more precise evaluations can be made available in Canada.

Notes

[1] The author may be contacted at: Institute of Criminology, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, P.O. Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand, Tel: +64-4-463-5428, Fax: +64-4-463-5147, e-mail: philip.stenning@vuw.ac.nz

[2] Following World War II, however, the proportion of those of European extraction who were from Eastern rather than Western Europe increased significantly.

[3] All figures presented here are derived from the reports of the 1961 and 1991 censuses (Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1962; and Canada, Statistics Canada, 1993a). These figures represent only those who reported a single racial or ethnic identity; as a result, the figures for "black" people (identified as "Negroes" in the 1961 census) are undoubtedly lower than the total numbers of people who would have identified themselves as "black."

[4] 1996 Census Statistical Profile: www.statcan.ca/start.html, and click on "Census."

[5] See previous footnote.

[6] 174,000 in 1998; 158,000 in 1999.

[7] There is not agreement on this matter, however (see, e.g., Collacot, 2000). Furthermore, it is questionable whether the right-wing Canadian Alliance Party (formerly the Reform Party), which has been significantly growing in popularity in recent years and is now the Official Opposition in the Canadian House of Commons, would support such levels of immigration if it ever formed the government.

[8] Almost three-quarters of those who immigrated to Canada between 1991 and 1996 took up residence in one of these three cities. In 1998, 42 percent of immigrants came to Toronto (Linden, 2000: 169).

[9] But see footnote 3, above. It is now estimated that approximately 8 percent of the inhabitants of the greater Toronto area are "black."

---

[10] Specifically, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966).

[11] R.S.C. 1985, 4th Suppl., c. 24. The statute implemented the recommendations contained in the 1987 report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism (Canada, House of Commons…, 1987).

[12] Despite the fact that policing is, for the most part, a constitutional responsibility of the provinces in Canada, the R.C.M.P., with just more than 15,000 sworn officers (representing 27 percent of Canadian police officers), is by far the largest police service in the country. In addition to its federal and territorial policing responsibilities, the R.C.M.P. provides provincial policing services under contract to 8 of the 10 provinces as well as municipal policing services under contract to 197 municipalities in those 8 provinces. The R.C.M.P. also provides policing services to a substantial number of First Nations (Aboriginal) communities, although more and more of these have recently established their own "stand-alone" police services.

[13] Subsection 15(1). Subsection 15(2), however, makes allowance for bona fide affirmative action programs that may discriminate on these grounds.

[14] For example, female circumcision, carrying offensive weapons in public, consuming marihuana ("ganga").

[15] These, of course, have posed challenges for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service as well as for the "regular" public police services.

[16] See, e.g., Hill and Schiff, 1986.

[17] These include allegations of racially targeted drug law enforcement, police harassment of blacks in public places, such as streets and shopping centers, and the claim that police operationally enforce an "offense" of "driving while black."

[18] See, e.g., Quebec, Comite d'enquete…, 1988; Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1989; Head and Clairmont, 1989; Quebec, Task Force…, 1992; Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1992; Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995a.

[19] See, e.g., Abraham et al., 1981.

[20] In a review of the literature on police race relations prepared for the Law Reform Commission of Canada in 1991, Brodeur commented on the high degree of repetition to be found in the various reports from which these recommendations had emanated during the preceding 20 years (Brodeur, 1991: 62). Indeed, these recommendations have been so repetitive that it has now become common practice for public inquiries on this topic to list in their reports the similar recommendations of previous public inquiries on the same topic (see, e.g., Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1989: Appendix D, pp. 237–267).

[21] See, e.g., Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism…, 1995a.

[22] See, e.g., Lunney, 1985; Cryderman and O'Toole, 1986.

[23]   See, e.g., Loree, 1985; Linden, 1989; and Fleras et al., 1989.

[24]   For instance, many potential Asian recruits were unable to meet the minimum height requirements, based on European standards, which were in place at that time but have since been abandoned or modified.

[25]   See, e.g., Nelson, 1992. Between 1989 and 1994, retired R.C.M.P. officers launched an unsuccessful court challenge of the decision of the R.C.M.P. to allow officers of the Sikh religion to wear turbans instead of the traditional R.C.M.P. headgear (see Pelot, 1993). In 1993, the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System attempted to undertake a survey of racial minority police officers in nine police services in the province. The Commission's explanation of why this survey could not be successfully undertaken makes for instructive reading (see Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism…, 1995b: 318–319). More recently on this subject, see Holdaway, 1996.

[26]   Between 1962 and 1975, the number of police officers in Canada increased by 83 percent, while the population increased by 25 percent. But between 1975 and 1990, the number of police officers increased by only 17 percent, while the population increased by 20 percent. The recession also led to decreased turnover within the rank and file of police services, thus reducing further opportunities for more diverse recruitment. In the 1990s the number of police officers declined (from a high of 56,992 in 1991 to 54,699 in 1997, although expenditures on police services remained fairly stable during this period ($5.25b in 1990, $5.85b in 1996) (Source: Swol, 1997: Table 6).

[27]   See, e.g., Section 48 of the Ontario Police Services Act, R.S.O. 1990, c. P.15, and Ontario Regulation 153/91 (1991). The Police Services Act provided provincial authorities with substantial powers of intervention in the administration of police services, which did not comply satisfactorily with the employment equity requirements. These provisions, however, were repealed in 1995 (by S.O. 1995, c.4, s. 4(10)). In 1995, federal legislation was enacted that explicitly provided for the possibility of application of employment equity requirements to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police: see Section 4 of the Employment Equity Act, S.C. 1995, c. 44. Compliance with these requirements is monitored by the Canadian Human Rights Commission, which is mandated to conduct compliance audits of affected employers. The federal legislation is specifically directed at employment of people belonging to "designated groups," including "women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities."

[28]   By 1996, women constituted at most 13 percent of sworn police personnel nationally, and only 4 percent of them were members of visible minority groups. Conflicting figures on the percentage of police officers who are women have recently been published by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, however (compare Swol, 1997: Table 2, with Swol, 1998: Tables 4 and 6).

[29]   According to census data, it was approximately 30 percent in 1996 (see footnote 4, above).

[30]   "Racial minority" is defined in the Service's applicant survey as including "Black, Filipino, Korean, Other Southeast Asian, Person of mixed race or colour, Chinese, Japanese, Oceanic, South Asian (Indo Pakistani), Visible Minority West Asian or North African, Visible Minority Central or South American."

[31]   Toronto Police Service officials declined to disclose how many of these 508 officers considered themselves to be "black," but a senior black police officer claimed in August 2000 that there were 187 black police officers on the Toronto Police Service, out of a total of 350 in the Province of

Ontario (Abbate, 2000). If true, black officers comprise 3.7 percent of the Toronto Police Service, and 1.7 percent of all sworn officers in the province (see Swol, 1997: Table 7). According to census data, blacks constituted approximately 6 percent of the Toronto population and 3.3 percent of Ontario's population in 1996 (see footnote 4, above). In 1999, however, it was reported in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* that: "The city's newest police officers, 93 recruits graduating from training college today, speak 28 languages and represent most races, including black, Asian and aboriginal. The class is 19-per-cent female and 22-per-cent non-white" (*Globe and Mail*, "Newest police officers represent most races," December 10, 1999, p. A9).

[32] Between them, these 814 officers speak 60 languages other than English and French. I am grateful to the Director, Human Resources, of the Toronto Police Service, Mr. William Gibson, and Constable Mary Price, for providing this information. According to census data, approximately 40 percent of Toronto's population spoke languages other than English and French in 1996 (see footnote 4, above).

[33] This was up from 0.6 percent in 1991, however. By comparison, Aboriginal persons, who constituted 0.3 percent of the Montreal population in 1996, constituted 0.4 percent of the sworn officers in the M.U.C. Police Service in 2000. In addition to its Aboriginal and visible minority membership, a further 9.2 percent of sworn officers belonged to ethnic groups whose first language was not English or French in 2000; 19 percent of Montreal's population belonged to such groups in 1996. See footnote 4, above, regarding population statistics, and Van Dam, 2000, for statistics on Aboriginal, visible minority, and other ethnic representation in the M.U.C. Police Service.

[34] Aboriginal members constituted a further 1 percent in each case. In 1996, Aboriginal persons constituted 2.2 percent of population of the City of Vancouver and 3.8 percent of the provincial population. It should be noted, however, that between 1996 and 1999, 17 percent of those undertaking recruit training at the British Columbia Police Academy were members of visible minority groups and 3 percent were Aboriginal, indicating some progress in the recruitment of such officers. See footnote 4, above, regarding population statistics, and Watt, 1999, for statistics on visible minority representation in municipal police services and recruit classes in British Columbia.

[35] See also Jain et al., 2000, in which a similar conclusion is reached.

[36] The Task Force also recommended that all police recruits should be required to complete a 2- to 3-month internship with a visible minority community organization and that officers seeking promotion should be required to complete another such internship before being considered for promotion (Ibid.: 106). This recommendation, which was reiterated in the Task Force's subsequent report in 1992 (Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1992: 90), has never been implemented.

[37] The Basic Constable (Recruit) Training curriculum at the Ontario Police College currently includes the following "antiracism" topics: workplace violations, hate crimes, community panel, and problem solving (Ontario Police College, 1998).

[38] See, e.g., Morgan, 1989, and Stratta, 1990.

[39] This is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and current review of such groups in Canada. See, in particular, pp. 9–10, 14, 20–21, 24–25, 34–35, 43–44, 50–51, 56–57, 62, 67–68, 86 and 88–89.

[40] The authors followed this litany of difficulties with a number of suggestions for overcoming such "barriers." These were as follows: (1) Ensure that committees are organized to meet the needs of the actual community; (2) Ensure that committees propose agendas suited to their community; (3)

37

Encourage police organizations to allow partnerships with committees to evolve naturally; (4) Ensure that contributions from volunteers and police officers involved in developing committees are well recognized; and (5) Encourage both the police and committees to educate themselves and support the arrival of the comprehensive community policing approach in our communities. The first four of these suggestions were accompanied by some brief explanatory text (Ibid.: 28–30).

[41] As a result of an amalgamation, in 1999, of the six municipalities that constituted metropolitan Toronto, the service is now styled the Toronto Police Service.

[42] For a description of the genesis and early history of this policy, see Todd and Todd, 1992.

[43] The disciplinary element of the policy was also backed up by the passage of an amendment to the police force regulations which added the following provision: "4.2.4 Professional Conduct. Members shall not, by word, deed or gesture, conduct themselves or persuade or attempt to persuade other persons to conduct themselves, in any manner that is discriminatory towards any person because of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, creed, sex, sexual orientation, record of offences, age, marital status, family status, handicap or political or religious affiliation" (Article 4.2.4 of Bylaw No. 22, as inserted by Bylaw No. 94, November 1990). For a rather favourable review of the genesis and early history of this policy, see Todd and Todd, 1992.

[44] The credibility of the audit report in this respect, and in particular the willingness of the police force to accept this "finding," was weakened by the fact that none of this "evidence" was actually documented in the report.

[45] Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1989, and Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1992. These reports also recommended establishment of enhanced province-wide agencies for investigating and adjudicating public complaints against the police, but the jurisdiction of these institutions was not in any way confined to matters involving race relations.

[46] The unit was to perform "developmental functions in the areas of race relations training, employment equity, and police and community relations" (Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1992: 23). In its 1992 report, the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force argued that this unit should be regarded as only a temporary measure until the ideal situation would be reached in which "the entire Ministry [of the Solicitor General], not a separate Unit, must have responsibility for race relations." The task force recommended that the unit be given a bigger budget and a much higher profile within the Ministry (Ibid.: 23–28).

[47] As noted above, employment equity standards have also been embodied in legislation and regulations (see footnote 26, above). In Ontario, police compliance was monitored by the Race Relations and Policing Monitoring and Audit Board.

[48] Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1989: Recommendations 12, 40, 46, and 53.

[49] The Centre was initially also supported by funds from the federal Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

[50] A brief description of the Centre can be found in the Newsletter of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 1992), at p. 17.

---

51   With the exception of federal policing agencies such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, constitutional responsibility for the maintenance of police services resides with the 10 Canadian provincial governments.

52   See, e.g., Wortley et al., 1997. The research projects undertaken by the Commission are listed on pp. 437–438 of its report (Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995a) and the research instruments used are published in its *Technical Volume* (Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995b).

53   See footnote 45, above.

54   The Commission defined "systemic racism" as "the social production of racial inequality in decisions about people and in the treatment they receive" (Ontario, Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995a: 39).

55   For the most recent confirmation of these kinds of allegations, see Wortley (2001). The possibility of police discrimination against black suspects was recently acknowledged by the Supreme Court of Canada in *R. v. S. (R.D.)* [1997] 3 S.C.R. 484.

56   A survey of accounts of their arrest by inmates in detention centers in the Toronto area, conducted by Stenning in 1993, found no significant evidence of racially discriminatory use of force or violence by police in making these arrests but considerable evidence of racial slurs and other disrespectful remarks made by police, particularly toward black suspects: see Stenning, 1994: Part II.

57   See, e.g., Ontario, Race Relations and Policing Task Force, 1989: 191; Ontario, Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, 1992: 135–136; British Columbia, Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia, 1994: B–63.

58   See now Sections 318–320 of the Criminal Code, R.S.C. 1985, c. C–46.

59   See *R. v. Keegstra* (1991) 61 C.C.C. (3d) 1 and (1996) 105 C.C.C. (3d) 19. Another provision (Section 181) prohibiting the spreading of "false news," which was used to prosecute a holocaust denier, was struck down as unconstitutional in *R. v. Zundel* (1992) 75 C.C.C. (3d) 449.

60   See now paragraph 718.2(i) of the Criminal Code.

61   Roberts (1995), however, has drawn attention to the inadequacy of such statistics.

62   Primary responsibility for implementing the First Nations Policing Policy rests with the Aboriginal Policing Directorate in the federal Ministry of the Solicitor General.

63   For a recent summary of these various arrangements, see: http://www.soonet.ca/fncpa/hrdc/ arrangements.htm.

64   The highest concentration of urban Aboriginal people are to be found in the inner-city areas of major cities in the Western provinces of Canada (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia), although Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax (Nova Scotia) also have significant Aboriginal populations (Canada, Statistics Canada, 1993b).

[65]   See, e.g., Depew, 1986; LaPrairie, 1988; Head, 1989; Nova Scotia, Royal Commission…, 1989; Clark, 1989; Ontario, Osnaburg-Windigo…, 1990; Alberta, Commission of Inquiry…, 1991; Alberta, Task Force…, 1991; Canada, Law Reform Commission of Canada, 1991; Manitoba, Public Inquiry…, 1991; Brodeur and Leguerrier, 1991; Saskatchewan Indian Justice Review Committee, 1992; British Columbia, Commission of Inquiry…, 1994: Vol. 2, Section G; Depew, 1994; Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Stenning, 1996.

[66]   See LaPrairie, 1996; and Finn et al., 1999.

[67]   See Cassidy, 1991; and Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996 and 1997.

[68]   Allowance must be made, however, for the fact that private security employment tends to be more concentrated in urban areas, whereas public police services cover rural as well as urban areas. As noted earlier, visible minority representation tends to be a little higher in those urban police services that police communities with significant visible minority communities. Aboriginal people make up 3 percent of public police officers, 2.9 percent of private security guards, and 1.3 percent of private investigators (Swol, 1999: 7). Women constituted 20 percent of private security guards, 21 percent of private investigators, but only 13 percent of public police officers (Ibid.: 5).

[69]   In his 1987 report on the enforcement of the trespass legislation by private security on "publicly used" private property in Ontario, Task Force chairman Raj Anand wrote: "[I]n spite of numerous requests, I received no evidence that in-house or contract security guards receive training in human rights, multi-culturalism or tolerance of varying lifestyles." (Ontario, Task Force on the Law Concerning Trespass to Publicly-Used Property as it Affects Youth and Minorities, 1987: 103).

[70]   Shearing and Stenning (1981) have referred to these kinds of places as "mass private property" (see, more recently, Jones and Newburn, 1998: 46–51 and 104–114).

[71] See Rigakos and Greener (2000), and Rigakos (2002), for very recent discussions of these powers and their use by private security personnel in Canada.

[72]   A government Bill (Bill 149, 1st Session, 34th Legislature) to this effect was introduced in 1988 but was never passed.

[73]   Although most recently see Toronto police data presented and analyzed by the Toronto Star which suggests that blacks are treated differently by police (Rankin et al., 2002).

[74]   In this connection, it is relevant that at least one Canadian academic has employed such statistics from other jurisdictions in support of racial explanations of criminality (Rushton, 1988; for a rejoinder, see Roberts and Gabor, 1990).

[75]   In this connection, it should be borne in mind that a fair amount of police training teaches police to use stereotypes ("the way things typically are or are expected to be") as a means of recognizing things and people that/who are "out of order" (see, e.g. Ericson, 1982). The idea that there may be something wrong with stereotypes as a basis for decision making (especially if they seem to be consistent with their experience) may therefore not be quite as obvious to police officers as it is to others.

References

Abbate G. (2000), "Top black officer calls for greater police diversity", **Globe and Mail,** August 17, 2000, p. A17.

Abraham J., Field J., Harding R., Skurka S. (1981), "Police Use of Lethal Force: A Toronto Perspective", **Osgoode Hall Law Journal**, 19(2), pp. 200-236.

Adachi K. (1976), **The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians,** Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Alberta (1991), Commission of Inquiry, **Policing in Relation to the Blood Tribe: Commissioner's Report**, Lethbridge, Alta.: Commission of Inquiry…

Alberta (1991), Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its Impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta (Cawsey Inquiry) **Justice on Trial: Volume 1 Main Report,** Edmonton, Alta.: Task Force.

Andrews A. (1992), **Review of Race Relations Practices of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service**, Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Audit Department.

Backhouse C. (1999), **Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950,** Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bartlett, R. (1986), **Subjugation, Self-Management and Self-Government of Aboriginal Lands and Resources in Canada,** Kingston, Ont.: Queen's University, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations.

British Columbia (1994), Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia Report, **Closing the Gap: Policing and the Community** (4 Vols.), Vancouver: Commission of Inquiry into Policing in British Columbia.

Brodeur J-P. (1991), **Access to Justice and Equality of Treatment** - unpublished report prepared for the Law Reform Commission of Canada, May.

Brodeur J-P., Leguerrier Y. (1991), **Justice for the Cree: Policing and Alternative Dispute Resolution,** Nemaska, P.Q.: Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec)/ Cree Regional Authority.

Cairns A. (2000), **Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State**, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Canada (1962), **Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada**, 1961, Vol. 1, Part 2 "Population: General Characteristics" Catalogue # 95-551, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Canada (1984), House of Commons, Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, Report, **Equality Now!,** Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada (1987), House of Commons, Standing Committee on Multiculturalism Report, **Multiculturalism: building the Canadian mosaic**, Ottawa: House of Commons.

Canada (1986), Law Reform Commission of Canada, **Hate Propaganda**, Working Paper # 50, Ottawa Law Commission of Canada.

Canada (1991), Law Reform Commission of Canada, **Report on Aboriginal Peoples and Criminal Justice: Equality, Respect and the Search for Justice**, Ottawa: Law Reform Commission of Canada, Report #34.

Canada (1996), Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, **Bridging the Cultural Divide: A Report on Aboriginal People and Criminal Justice in Canada**, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Canada (1997), Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Final Report, **People to People, Nation to Nation**, Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Canada (1992), Solicitor General, **First Nations Policing Policy**, Ottawa: Solicitor General of Canada.

Canada (1966), Special Committee on Hate Propaganda in Canada, **Report to the Minister of Justice**, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada (1993A), Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, **1991 Ethnic Origin: The Nation**, Catalogue # 93-315, Ottawa: Statistics Canada/Ministry of Industry, Science & Technology.

Canada (1993b), Statistics Canada, **Language, Tradition, Health, Lifestyle and Social Issues: Aboriginal Peoples Survey**, Catalogue # 89-533, Ottawa: Statistics Canada/Ministry of Industry, Science & Technology.

Cassidy F. (1991), **Aboriginal self-determination: Proceedings of a conference held September 30, 1991 - October 3, 1991**, Lantzville, B.C.: Oolichan Books.

Clark S. (1989), **The Mi'kmaq and Criminal Justice in Nova Scotia: A Research Study**, Vol. 3 of Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution, Final Report, Halifax: Nova Scotia Government Printer, 1989.

Collacott M. (2000), "Immigration: Less is more", Toronto **Globe and Mail**, August 21, p. A13.
Cryderman D., O'Toole C. (ed.) (1989), **Police, Race and Ethnicity: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers**, Toronto: Butterworths.

Depew R. (1994), **Aboriginal Policing: A Research Perspective** - unpublished research study prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Depew R. (1986), **Native Policing in Canada: A Review of Current Issues**, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

Ericson R. (1982), **Reproducing Order: A Study of Police Patrol Work**, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Finn A., Trevethan S., Carriere G., Kowalski M. (1999), "Female Inmates, AboriginalInmates, and Inmates Serving Life Sentences: A One Day Snapshot," **Juristat**, 19 (5), Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

42

Fleras A., Desroches F., O'Toole C., Davies G. (1989), "Bridging the Gap: Towards a Multicultural Policing in Canada," **Canadian Police College Journal**, 13(3), pp. 153-164.

Gandy J. (1979), **Law Enforcement – Race Relations Committees in Metropolitan Toronto: An Experiment in Police-Citizen Partnership**, Toronto: Social Planning Council.

Gaskell J. (1995), **Secondary Schools in Canada: The National Report of the Exemplary Schools Project**, Toronto: Canadian Education Association.

Globe and Mail (1999), "Newest police officers represent most races", December 10, p. A9.

Goodson T. (2000), **Report to the Attorney General - Public Inquiry - The Fatalities Inquiries Act,** http://www.gov.ab.ca/just/upload/Jacobs.htm.

Hann R., McGinnis J., Stenning P., Farson S. (1985), "Municipal Police Governance and Accountability in Canada: An Empirical Study", **Canadian Police College Journal**, 9(1), pp. 1-85.

Head R. (1989), **Policing for Aboriginal Canadians: The R.C.M.P. Role**, Ottawa: Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Head W., Clairmont D. (1989), **Discrimination Against Blacks in Nova Scotia: The Criminal Justice System - A Research Study**, Vol. 4 of Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution, Final Report, Halifax: Nova Scotia Government Printer.

Hill D., Schiff, M. (1986), "Mutual Distrust: The Legacy and Hopes for the Future", in: Cryderman D., O'Toole C (eds.), **Police, Race and Ethnicity: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers,** Toronto: Butterworth, pp. 55-95.

Holdaway S. (1996), **Race Relations Within Metropolitan Toronto Police Service,** unpublished report prepared for the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service - available on file at the Library of the Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto [CRIMDOC #1479].

Iacovetta F., Perin R., Principe A. (2000), **Enemies Within: Italian and other internees in Canada and abroad**, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

International Briefing Associates (1989), **Policing for a Pluralistic Society, 89 (Building a Network)**, Ottawa: Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Jain H., Singh P., Agocs C. (2000), "Recruitment, selection and promotion of visible-minority and aboriginal police officers in selected Canadian police services", **Canadian Public Administration**, 43(1), pp.46-74.

Jayewardene C., Talbot C. (1990), **Police Recruitment of Ethnic Minorities,** (Ottawa: Canadian Police College).

Johnson R., Dubois D. (1994), **Community Policing and the RCMP: A Status Report,** (Ottawa: R.C.M.P.).

Jones T., Newburn T. (1998), **Private Security and Public Policing,** Oxford: Clarendon Press.

LaPrairie C. (1988), "Community Types, Crime, and Police Services on Canadian Indian Reserves", **Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency**, 25(4), pp. 375-391.

LaPrairie C. (1996), **Examining Aboriginal Corrections**, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada.

LaPrairie C. (1995), **Seen But Not Heard: Native People in the Inner City**, Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

Linden, R. (1989), "Demographic Change and the Future of Policing", in: Loree D. (ed.), **Future Issues in Policing: Symposium Proceedings**, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, pp. 111-127.

Linden R. (2000), "The Impact of Demographic Change on Crime and Security", in: Richardson. J. (ed), **Police and Private Security: What the Future Holds**, Ottawa: Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police/Police Futures Group, pp. 164-175.

Loree D. (1985), "Police in a Plural Society", **Canadian Police College Journal**, 9(4), pp. 391-412.

Lunney R. (1985), "Police-Minority Relations", **Currents**, 3(2), pp. 8-9.

Manitoba (1991), Public Inquiry into the Administration of Justice and Aboriginal People, **Report, Volume 1: The Justice System and Aboriginal People,** Winnipeg: Queen's Printer.

McLeod R. (1996), **A Report and Recommendations on Amendments to the Police Services Act Respecting Civilian Oversight of Police**, Toronto: Miller Thomson.

Metropolitan Toronto Police Force (1994), **Moving Forward Together: An Integrated Approach to Race Relations Toronto**, Metropolitan Toronto Police Force.

Metropolitan Toronto Police services Board (1990), **Race Relations Policy**, Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board.

Miner, M. (1984), "Police Intercultural Education: An Implementation Handbook, 1984", in: Winterton *et al.* (see below), pp. 80-88.

Mock, K. (2000), **"Countering Anti-Semitism and Hate in Canada Today: Legal/ Legislative Remedies and Current Realities - Racism, Anti-Semitism and Hate in Canada"**, http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/m/mock-karen/countering-hate.htm

Morgan R. (1989), "Policing by consent: legitimating the doctrine", in: Morgan R., Smith D. (eds.), **Coming to Terms with Policing:Perspectives on Policy**, London, New York: Routledge, pp. 217-234.

Nelson E. (1992), "Employment Equity and the Red Queen's Hypothesis: Recruitment and Hiring in Western Canadian Municipal Police Departments", **Canadian Police College Journal**, 16(3), pp. 184-203.

Normandeau A. (1988), "Police, Race and Ethnicity in Montreal", **Crimcare Journal**, 4(1), pp. 3-19.

Nova Scotia (1989), Royal Commission on the Donald Marshall, Jr., Prosecution, **Commissioners' Report: Findings and Recommendations,** Vol. 1., Halifax: Nova Scotia Government Printer.

Ontario (1995a), Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, **Report**, Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Ontario (1995b), Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, **Technical Volume: Research methodologies of the major research projects conducted by the Commission**, Toronto: Ontario Commission on Systemic Racism.

Ontario (1993), Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services, Race Relations and Policing Unit, **Report on the Regional Dialogues: Race Relations Policy for Ontario Police Services**, Toronto: Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General and Correctional Services.

Ontario (1990), Osnaburg-Windigo Tribal Council Justice Review Committee, **Report**, Toronto: Osnaburg-Windigo Tribal Council Justice Review Committee.

Ontario Police College (1998), **Basic Constable Training - Course Training Standards,** Aylmer, Ont.: Ontario Police College.

Ontario (1989), Race Relations and Policing Task Force, **Report**, Toronto: Race Relations and Policing Task Force.

Ontario (1992), Strategic Planning Committee on Police Training and Education, **A Police Learning System for Ontario: Final Report and Recommendations**, Toronto: Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General.

Ontario (1987), Task Force on the Law Concerning Trespass to Publicly-Used Property as it Affects Youth and Minorities, **Report** (Raj Anand, Chair), Toronto: Ministry of the Attorney General.

Ontario (1992), Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, **The Report of the Race Relations and Policing Task Force**, Toronto: Task Force on Race Relations and Policing.

Ontario (1980), Task Force on the Racial and Ethnic Implications of Policing Hiring, Training, Promotion and Career Development (Dr. Reva Gerstein, Chair) Report **Policing in Ontario for the eighties: Perceptions and Reflections**, Toronto: Ontario Ministry of the Solicitor General.

Pelot J. (1993), **Diary of a National Debate: Mounties in Turbans**, Orleans, Ont.: In-tel-ek Consulting, 1993.

"Policing in a Multiracial Society," (1985), Special Issue of **Currents,** 3(2):

Quebec (1988), Comite d'enquete sur les relations entre les corps policiers et les minorites visibles et ethniques au Quebec, **Rapport Final** (the "Bellemare Report"), Montreal: Ministere des Communications.

Quebec (1992), Task Force of the Minister of Public Security of Quebec on Relations between the Black Communities and the Montreal Urban Community Police Department (M. Claude Corbo, Chairman) Report **An Opportunity For Progress,** Montreal: Task Force…

Rankin J., Quinn Z., Shephard M., Simmie S., Duncanson J. (2002), "Singled Out: An Investigation into Race and Crime" **Toronto Star,** 19th October, 2002, pp. A1, A12-14.

Rigakos G. (2002), **The New Parapolice: Risk Markets and Commodified Social** Control, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rigakos G., Greener D. (2000), "Bubbles of Governance: Private Policing and the Law in Canada", **Canadian Journal of Law and Society**, 15(1), pp. 145-185.

Roberts J. (1995), **Disproportionate Harm: Hate Crime in Canada - An Analysis of Recent Statistics**, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Roberts J., Gabor T. (1990), "Lombrosian wine in a new bottle: research on race and crime", **Canadian Journal of Criminology**, 32, pp.291-313.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (1995), Audit, Evaluation and Corporate Services Directorate, **Community Policing Review – Report,** Ottawa: R.C.M.P..

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (1998),Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services Directorate, **Regional Community Policing Performance Review - Final Report**, Ottawa: R.C.M.P..

Rushton, P. (1988), "Race differences in behaviour: a review of evolutionary analysis", **Personality and Individual Differences**, 9, pp. 1009-1024.

Saskatchewan Indian Justice Review Committee (1992), **Report of the Saskatchewan Indian Justice Review Committee**, Regina: Saskatchewan Indian Justice Review Committee.

Shearing C., Ericson R. (1991), "Culture as Figurative Action" **British Journal of Sociology** 42(4), pp. 481-506.

Shearing C., Stenning P. (1991), "Modern Private Security: Its Growth and Implications", in: Tonry M., Morris N. (eds.) **Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research**, Vol. III, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 193-245.

Stenning P. (1981), **Police Commissions and Boards in Canada**, Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.

Stenning P. (1996), **Police Governance in First Nations in Ontario**, Toronto: Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.

Stenning P. (1994), **Police Use of Force and Violence Against Members of Visible Minority Groups in Canada**, Ottawa: Centre for Police Race Relations.

Stratta E. (1990), "A Lack of Consultation: Do local communities really affect policing policies through Consultation Committees?" **Policing**, 6(3), pp. 523-549.

Suriya S. (1993), "The Representation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Police: Employment Equity Beyond Rhetoric", **Police Studies**, 16(2), pp. 44-62.

Swol K. (1997), (Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics) **Police Personnel and Expenditures in Canada – 1996 and 1997**, Catalogue # 85F0019-XPE, Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Swol K. (1998), (Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics) "Private Security and Public Policing in Canada" Catalogue # 85-002XPE, **Juristat**, 18(13), Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Todd R. (2001), "Aboriginal People in the City," in: Thornton M., Todd R. (eds.), **Aboriginal People and Other Canadians: Shaping New Relationships**, Ottawa: International Council for Canadian Studies/University of Ottawa Press, pp. 93-130.

Todd R., Todd F. (1992), "Ethnic Relations and Community Policing: A Canadian Model for Europe?", **British Journal of Canadian Studies**, 7(2), pp. 277-289.

Todd R., Todd F. (1997), **Police Community Partnerships in Canada: Bridging Solitudes**, unpublished report to the Canadian High Commission, London.

Ungerleider C., Echols F. (1984), "Police Intercultural Education: A Summary of the Evaluation and Implementation Report 1984", in: Winterton *et al.* (see below), pp. 89-93.

Van Dam H. (2000), "Bilan des realisations, Mai 1999 - Avril 2000", unpublished document prepared by H. Van Dam, Responsable, Programme d'acces a l'egalite, droits de la personne et qualite de vie au travail, Montreal Urban Community Police Service, kindly provided by the Montreal Urban Community Police Service.

Watt S. (1999), "Gender, Visible Minority and First Nations as reflected in current Municipal Police Department Strength and Recruit Intake (1996 to present)", unpublished document prepared by the Director of the British Columbia Police Academy, Justice Institute of B.C., for the Provincial Committee on Diversity in Policing, November 15th, kindly provided by its author.

Weiler, R., Associates Ltd. (1992), **Community Consultative Groups and the RCMP,** Ottawa: R.C.M.P.

Wilson V., Petrunik M., Kiederowski J. (1990), **Evaluation of the Police-Minority Initiative in the Multiculturalism Sector**, Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State.

Winterton D., Miner D., Affeman N., D'Oyley V., Ferguson J., Khaki A., Masemann V. (eds.) (1984), **Poceedings of the Symposium on Policing in Multicultural/Multiracial Urban Communities**, Ottawa: Multiculturalism Canada.

Wortley S. (1999), "Northern Taboo: Research on race, crime, and criminal justice in Canada", **Canadian Journal of Criminology**, 41(2), pp. 261-274.

Wortley S. (2001), "The Good, the Bad and the Profiled: Race, Deviant Activity and Police Stop and Search Practices", unpublished paper presented at the 2nd Biannual Conference on Crime and Criminal Justice in the Caribbean, Kingston, Jamaica, February 14-17.

Wortley S., Hagan J., Macmillan R. (1997), "Just Des(s)erts? The Racial Polarization of Perceptions of Criminal Justice", **Law & Society Review**, 31(4), pp. 637-676.